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SOURCE Ost-Probleme, Vol II, No 29, 1950.PARTY HIERARCHY IN THE USSR

Mediator

[Any inaccuracies and inconsistencies in the original article in German, except for typographical errors, have been retained in the following to aid the analyst in evaluating the information. "Mediator" is thought to be a pen name for Boris Meissner. Numbers in parentheses refer to the appended notes.]

Stalin, who likes to speak in military terms, in a speech in 1937 described the party hierarchy as consisting of 3,000 - 4,000 top leaders (the "generals"), 30,000 - 40,000 intermediate leaders (the "officers"), and 100,000 - 150,000 low-level leaders (the "noncommissioned officers"). (1) In a one-party state the top-level leaders, the so-called "generals," are of special importance: party functionaries rank above functionaries of the state, the armed forces, and the economy. They do not, however, outrank the state police, who are on an equal level with them and sometimes command more effective power.

Among the "generals" are the members of the TsK VKP(b) and its organs: the Politburo, the Orgburo, the Secretariat, the Party Control Commission (including the Party Collegium), and the Central Auditing Commission.

Also included among the "generals" are the chiefs of the central administrations of the Central Committee: the Section for Party, Trade-Union, and Komsomol Affairs; Propaganda and Agitation Section; Section for Checking of Party Organs for Heavy Industry [probably should read: "Section for Checking Party Organs; Heavy Industry Section"]; Light Industry Section; Agriculture Section; Transportation Section; Planning, Finance, and Trade Section; Education Section; Defense Section; Naval Section; Section for Work Among Women, etc., as well as their sub-sections and operational organs of administrations, such as the Party Inspection.

- 1 -

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All of these functionaries, who at present probably number 500-750, together with the "Headquarters of the Commander," constitute the "Great General Staff" of the Communist Party, to which are attached the staffs of the international Communist organizations, of the Cominform, etc. In addition to the central party functionaries, there are an estimated 6,000-6,250 local top functionaries of the party: the members of the central committees of the Communist parties of the union republics and of the oblast committees of the autonomous oblasts, krais, and oblasts, and their executive organs. Thus, the number of top party officials today probably is 6,500-7,000, as compared with 3,000-4,000 in 1937. This figure does not seem too high, since during this period the membership of the Communist Party has tripled; it was 1,920,000 as of 1 January 1938 and 6,300,000 in fall 1947.(2)

In this group of top leaders, the party secretaries as the "commanding generals" and "general staff members," in addition to the Politburo and Orgburo of the TsK VKP(b), occupy the decisive positions.

In the final analysis, the structure of all party organs is decisively influenced by the tightly centralized hierarchy of party secretaries which is based on the organizational principle of one-man leadership (yedinonachaliye), and which is headed by the General Secretary as leader and Supreme Commander.

In a report to the 18th Party Congress in 1939, Zhdanov stated that there were 333 secretaries of central committees of Communist parties of union republics, kray committees of krais, and oblast committees of autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and oblasts. Of these, 196, or 58.9 percent, had completed higher or secondary education, i.e., they belonged socially to the new intelligentsia and not to the working class. Also, 303, or 91 percent, were less than 40 years old; 177, or 53.2 percent, had joined the party in or after 1924, i.e., after Lenin's death. Their advancement took place chiefly during the great purges of 1934 - 1938, when Stalin's dictatorship was consolidated socially and politically.(3) There were 308 higher secretaries in 1939, including the five TsK VKP(b) secretaries. This number increased considerably with the annexation of foreign territories, creation of new administrative areas, and expansion of the party's administrative apparatus.

Article 45 of the 1939 Party Rules decreed that the central committee of the Communist Party of a union republic, or the oblast or kray committee appoints from its ranks for routine administrative work an executive body of no more than 11 persons and four or five secretaries, the first two of whom are for propaganda. The secretaries had to be confirmed by the TsK VKP(b), i.e., in effect, by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. This shows with particular clarity the complete dependence of the local party organizations on the central party apparatus.

Before World War II, most central committees of Communist parties of union republics had only three or four secretaries; there were generally five on the higher administration level. The second secretary was replaced by a secretary for agriculture and procurement and a secretary for industry.(4) During the administrative reform in the party, which was concluded in 1948, the functions of the secretary for propaganda and agitation were curtailed and the functions of the secretary for party affairs were extended and the name changed to secretary for party, trade union, and Komsomol affairs.

The TsK VKP(b), which also serves the RSFSR, has five secretaries. The 15 central committees of the Communist parties of the other 15 union republics have at present a total of 75 secretaries. The first secretary is always the general secretary. The six kray committees of the six krais have a total of 30 secretaries, and the 149 oblast committees of the 16 autonomous republics, 9 autonomous oblasts, and 124 oblasts have a total of 745 secretaries. Here too, the position of the first secretary is the most important. Today, there are altogether 855 secretaries, including 171 first secretaries, who constitute the "Commanding Generals," headed by the General Secretary of the TsK VKP(b) as "Supreme Commander." Attached is a list of names of secretaries of central committees

- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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50X1-HUM

and first secretaries. Some first secretaries are not listed because of changes in personnel. Second secretaries are listed only if they are members of the Supreme Soviet USSR and are thus more in the limelight.

With few exceptions, all first secretaries were elected to the Supreme Soviet USSR, Third Convocation. A great number of officials of other party organs and many secretaries of the rayon committees are also deputies to the Supreme Soviet USSR. The TsK VKP(b) secretaries hold the key positions in the party apparatus. They are automatically members of the Orgburo and in most cases also of the Politburo. The General Secretary is ex officio chairman of the Orgburo and since 1930 of the Politburo also. Under the principle of one-man leadership, both bureaus are entirely dependent on one will and are simply advisory. Stalin has held the office of General Secretary since 1922. The remaining secretaries have changed constantly.

The following of Stalin's closest associates were members of the Secretariat: Molotov (5), 1921-1930; Kaganovich (6), 1928-1939; Andreyev, 1934 to the end of World War II; Zhdanov (7), 1934 to his death in 1948; and Malenkov, since 1939. Besides Kaganovich, Andreyev, and Zhdanov, Yezhov, chief of the state police, was a secretary of the Central Committee from 1935 to 1938. In 1939 the Secretariat was reorganized to include Stalin, Andreyev, Malenkov, and Zhdanov. In 1941 A. S. Shcherbakov (8) became the fifth secretary of the Central Committee. Andreyev's departure and Shcherbakov's early death in 1945 made it necessary after the war to restaff the Secretariat. It was approved in 1946 with Stalin, Zhdanov, Malenkov, and A. A. Kuznetsov (9) as members. Toward the end of 1947, M. A. Suslov was appointed fifth secretary of the Central Committee.

Until his sudden death in fall 1948 Zhdanov exercised a decisive influence on party activities. Only after his death did his opponents in the Politburo, with the support of Malenkov in the Secretariat, come to influence. G. M. Popov (10) had already replaced Kuznetsov, and then P. K. Ponomarenko, a loyal follower of Malenkov, became secretary of the Central Committee. Toward the end of 1949, G. M. Popov also was relieved of his party duties and was replaced by N. S. Khrushchev. A similar displacement of power occurred in the Politburo. There, N. A. Voznesenskiy (11), one of Zhdanov's closest followers, left office. Thus, the personnel changes among the party hierarchy were prompted in part by personal motives. These changes affected particularly the Leningrad and Moscow party organizations and the central committees of the Communist parties of Karelo-Finland, Estonia, and Latvia, which had been under Zhdanov's direct supervision.

The Secretariat of the TsK VKP(b) at present includes Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Suslov, and Ponomarenko. Of these, Malenkov (12) is probably most important because of his connections with Beriya, Kaganovich, and Stalin's private secretariat. Next to Stalin he is regarded as the most powerful man and as Stalin's most likely successor as General Secretary.

Malenkov, born in 1902 in Orenburg, began his political career, as did Yezhov, in the early 1920's in Turkestan under Kaganovich. When Kaganovich was appointed Central Committee secretary and chief of the Moscow party organization, Malenkov also began to advance. He became Stalin's second private secretary in addition to A. N. Poskrebyshchev, the "Gray Eminence of the Kremlin," and under Kaganovich headed the organizational section of the Moscow party organization from 1930 to 1934, worked under Yezhov in the corresponding section of the TsK VKP(b), and took over its management when Yezhov was appointed People's Commissar of Internal Affairs. Malenkov played a decisive part in the 1934-1938 political purges, in Yezhov's fall and Beriya's appointment to his post. Since then he has been a close friend of the new chief of the Soviet State Police. In 1938 Malenkov reorganized the Personnel Administration of the Central Committee. Malenkov, like Stalin at the beginning, was concerned chiefly with questions of organization and personnel and left cultural and foreign policy to Zhdanov, who by far surpassed him intellectually. Nikolay N. Shatalin and Vasilii M. Andrianov were Malenkov's closest associates in the Personnel Administration, Organization and Instruction Section, and in the Orgburo of the Central Committee.

- 3 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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50X1-HUM

During World War II, Malenkov succeeded Voznesenskiy as head of the Economic Council for the Armaments Industry and was a member of the State Defense Committee (GKO), the inner war cabinet. He was the GKO-authorized representative for the Stalingrad Front. In 1943 he was charged with the reconstruction of the areas liberated from enemy occupation. His subordinates in this task were Khrushchev in the Ukraine, Ponomarenko in Belorussia, and Suslov in Lithuania.

Malenkov was named a candidate of the Politburo in 1941, and in 1946, together with Beriya, was made a full member. On 18 October 1946 he was appointed Deputy Minister President /Deputy chairman, Council of People's Commissars/. In fall 1947, Malenkov, as representative of the TsK VKP(b), together with Zhdanov, founded the Cominform. Malenkov supported the administrative reform in the party which Kaganovich had advocated, and after Voznesenskiy's fall he and Kaganovich were reported to have taken over the actual guidance of economic planning. As a party secretary, he is said to specialize in industry.

Khrushchev is next in importance to Malenkov among the remaining secretaries of the Central Committee. He was born in 1894 in Kursk Guberniya. His political career began in the Ukraine under Kaganovich, and in 1934 he became the latter's assistant as second secretary of the Moscow party organization. He succeeded Kaganovich and headed the Moscow party organization as first secretary from 1935 to 1938. In 1938 he was appointed General Secretary of the KP(b) of the Ukraine and was charged with its reorganization after the great purges, which claimed among their victims Kosiwr and Chubar', Ukrainian party leaders and members of the Politburo. In 1939 he was appointed a full member of the Politburo. During World War II, he was a member of the military council of the Stalingrad Front where, as in Moscow, he cooperated closely with Malenkov and under whom he directed the reconstruction of the Ukraine. In 1947, after the offices of General Secretary and Minister President /chairman, Council of Ministers/ in the western union republics had been separated, he remained as Minister President while Kaganovich temporarily occupied the office of General Secretary. When Kaganovich returned to Moscow toward the end of 1947, Khrushchev resigned from the office of Minister President of the Ukraine and again became General Secretary. He was confirmed by the 16th Party Congress of the KP(b) of the Ukraine in January 1949, and in December 1949 was appointed to succeed G. M. Popov as secretary of the Central Committee and head of the Moscow party organization. As secretary he turned his attention especially to agriculture and procurement. In February 1950 he authored a strong attack in Pravda against the agricultural policy of Andreyev (13) and in another Pravda article in April 1950 advocated consolidation of small kolkhozes into large collective enterprises.

Suslov, who succeeded Zhdanov in the field of cultural and foreign policy, is secretary for propaganda and agitation with functions both inside and outside the Soviet Union. Suslov was born in 1902. In 1939, as first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze Kray Party Committee, he became a member of the Central Committee and shortly thereafter of the Orgburo. During the war he distinguished himself by his organizational activity in the North Caucasus, directed the reconstruction in liberated Lithuania under Malenkov, and in 1946 was called to the Academy for Social Sciences under the TsK VKP(b) as teacher and political chief. After Zhdanov's sharp attack on the philosophical views of G. F. Aleksandrov (14) in the summer of 1947, Suslov succeeded Aleksandrov in fall 1947 as chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Administration of the Central Committee. His deputy, D. T. Shepilov, took over this office when Suslov was promoted to secretary. After Zhdanov's death Suslov's scope of activity in the cultural and political field was curtailed and the Propaganda and Agitation Administration was changed /reduced/ to a section. Suslov continued Zhdanov's cultural policy unchanged and turned particular attention in the foreign policy field to the further expansion of the Cominform and its affiliated organizations. He was the initiator of the resolutions of the Cominform meeting in Budapest in late 1949.(15)

- 4 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
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50X1-HUM

Ponomarenko, born in 1902, is the only secretary who is not a member of the Politburo. Suslov has been a Politburo candidate since 1948. After the great purges Ponomarenko was charged with the same task in Belorussia as Khrushchev in the Ukraine. During World War II he distinguished himself as leader of the partisan movement in this area, which was entirely occupied by the enemy. In acknowledgement of his merits he was made a general. He headed the reconstruction of Belorussia under Malenkov. When in 1947 the offices of General Secretary and of Minister President were separated, he continued as Minister President of Belorussia until his promotion to secretary of the Central Committee following Zhdanov's death in 1948. Ponomarenko's duties as secretary are concerned particularly with party, trade union, and Komsomol affairs. In this capacity he directed the purges in the TsK KP(b) of Estonia in April 1950. Furthermore, he supported Khrushchev's agricultural policy, which makes available new labor reserves and thus serves Malenkov's chief aim of intensified industrialization.

Among the oblast committees of the Communist Party in the RSFSR, the Leningrad and Moscow party organizations have always been of central significance for the entire party. During Kirov's and Zhdanov's time, the chief of the Leningrad party organization was considered the likely successor to Stalin. Even when after World War II, P. S. Popkov was appointed first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast and City Committee, he was generally regarded as substituting for Zhdanov, with whom he was closely associated. A similar relationship may be considered to exist between Andrianov, Popkov's successor, and Malenkov, since Andrianov is one of Malenkov's closest associates. The present Leningrad Oblast and City Committee was elected toward the end of December 1948 at the meeting of the joint Leningrad Tenth Oblast and Eighth City Party Conference.(16)

P. S. Popkov was confirmed as first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast as well as the City Committee. The other Oblast Committee secretaries appointed were: G. F. Badayev, G. G. Vorotov, V. A. Kolobashkin, and E. E. Eikhov. The following were appointed secretaries of the City Committee: Ya. F. Kapustin, N. A. Nikolayev, N. D. Zintsov, and P. I. Levin. In 1949 the offices of the first secretary of the Oblast and the City Committee were separated and the bureaus and secretariats of both committees were restaffed. V. M. Andrianov (17) became first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Committee, and Frol Romanovich Kozlov first secretary of the City Committee. Newly appointed secretaries included: Oblast Committee -- Boris Fedorovich Nikolayev and N. D. Kazmin; and City Committee -- A. I. Alekseyev and V. N. Malin. As far as is known, G. G. Vorotov was the only one of the former secretaries of the Oblast Committee to remain in office. Vladimir Nikiforovich Malin had previously been secretary for industry of the TsK KP(b) of Belorussia and is considered to be Ponomarenko's special confidant.

The changes in the Moscow party organization are even more important than those in the Leningrad party organization. The present Moscow Oblast and City Committee was elected at the beginning of February 1949 at the joint Ninth Moscow Oblast and Eighth Moscow City Party Conference.(19) G. M. Popov was confirmed as first secretary of the Moscow Oblast as well as the City Committee. Other secretaries included: Oblast Committee -- S. A. Zholnin, O. V. Kozlov, A. I. Sekachev, and N. F. Solovyev; and City Committee -- I. A. Parfenov (19), N. P. Firubin, I. M. Kolotyrkin, and N. N. Danilov. In December 1949 the offices of first secretary of the Oblast and City Committee were separated. N. S. Khrushchev became first secretary of the Moscow Oblast Committee and was simultaneously made a secretary of the TsK VKP(b). Ivan Ivanovich Rumyantsev became secretary of the City Committee. The following new secretaries have been appointed so far: Oblast Committee -- V. P. Alekseyev and S. S. Morsin; and City Committee -- Yekaterina Alekseyevna Furtseva, and M. A. Yasnov.

The Gor'kiy and Rostov-on-Don oblast committees are also among those in the RSFSR which deserve special attention. The first secretary of the Gor'kiy Oblast Committee is generally regarded as an aspirant to high party positions. The careers of A. A. Zhdanov and A. S. Shcherbakov, predecessors of Smirnov, the present secretary, are an indication of this.

- 5 -

CONFIDENTIAL
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50X1-HUM

Rostov Oblast, located at the junction of the Donbass, the Volga, and the North Caucasus areas, assumes a particular political importance which calls for especially efficient party leaders. That is why, after his debut in the Ukraine, N. S. Patolichiev, member of the Orgburo of the TsK VKP(b), was appointed first secretary.(20)

Among the [Party] central committee secretaries of union republics, those of the Slavic member republics are naturally of special importance.

The economic and political crisis in the Ukraine in 1946-1947 caused the temporary replacement of Khrushchev as General Secretary by Kaganovich, who was assisted by Patolichiev as secretary for agriculture. The third secretary, for industry, was Demyan Sergeyevich Karotchenko.(21)

After fulfilling his task, Kaganovich returned to Moscow and transferred the office of General Secretary back to Khrushchev, who had assisted him as Minister President. When Patolichiev also left and when Karotchenko became Khrushchev's successor as Minister President of the Ukraine, a complete new re-staffing of the highest party offices became necessary. This was undertaken toward the end of January 1949 by the 16th [Ukrainian] Party Congress in Kiev.(22)

Besides Khrushchev, the following new secretaries were appointed: L. G. Melnikov, Z. T. Serdyuk, K. S. Litvin, and I. D. Nazarenko. All secretaries were members of the Orgburo, but only three -- Khrushchev, Melnikov, and Serdyuk -- were members of the Politburo of the TsK KP(b) of the Ukraine. When Khrushchev was called to Moscow, a new change in the secretariat became necessary. L. G. Melnikov succeeded him as General Secretary, Kirichenko and Tarasov became secretaries, and Litvin dropped out altogether.

A similar development took place in Belorussia. A reorganization of the secretariat was undertaken in March 1947. Ponomarenko remained Minister President of Belorussia and was succeeded as General Secretary by N. I. Gusarov. Semen Denisovich Ignatyev became second secretary for agriculture and procurement, Vladimir Nikiforovich Malin became secretary for industry, and Mikhail Trifonovich Iovchuk (23) became secretary for propaganda and agitation. All of the secretaries were members of the Orgburo, but only three of them -- Gusarov, Ignatyev, and Iovchuk -- were members of the Politburo. The 19th [Belorussian] Party Congress, which took place in Minsk in mid-February 1949 (24), reappointed the highest party officials. Ignatyev and Malin left, and V. I. Zakurdayev, M. V. Zimyanin, and I. P. Tur were appointed new secretaries. Gusarov and Iovchuk remained in office. I. P. Tur has subsequently been replaced by V. A. Tomashevich.

Of the non-Slavic European union republics, the Moldavian SSR experienced only minor changes. The Second Party Congress of the Communist Party of Moldavia took place toward the end of February 1949 in Kishinev.(25) N. G. Koval' was named General Secretary. Other secretaries appointed were I. Z. Zykov, F. I. Kashnikov, M. M. Radul, and I. F. Tereshchenko. Zykov has subsequently been replaced by D. G. Tkach.

Major changes occurred in the Karelo-Finnish SSR, which had always been particularly dependent upon Leningrad and thus upon Zhdanov. The reorganization and purge of the highest party offices took place a year after the Second [Karelo-Finnish] Party Congress. The latter convened in Petrozavodsk in late April 1949.(26) G. N. Kupriyanov was elected General Secretary; other secretaries elected were Yu. V. Andropov, I. I. Tsvetkov, T. F. Vakulikin, and N. A. Chernetsov, ethnologically all Russians. In February 1950 Kupriyanov was the victim of a political purge conducted by Vichurin, Ponomarenko's authorized representative.(27) Kupriyanov was replaced by Kondakov as General Secretary. Andropov, the second secretary, remained in office. Nothing is known of the fate of the other three secretaries.

- 6 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Of the Baltic republics, which were reoccupied by the Soviets in 1944-1945, Estonia was particularly hit by purges. After World War II Nikolay Karotamm remained General Secretary of the KP(b) of Estonia. A Russian, Z. Zasonov, was second secretary, and E. Päll was third secretary. After Vares' suicide, Päll became chairman of the Presidium, Supreme Soviet Estonian SSR, and as such nominally the chief of state. A. Raadik was his successor as secretary for propaganda and agitation. The secretariat was reorganized, and the Fifth Estonian Party Congress, convening in late December 1949 in Tallin (28), confirmed the following as secretaries: N. S. should be N. G. Karotamm, G. T. Kedrov, V. I. Kuuzik, I. G. Käbin, and A. A. Müürisepp. Karotamm, for many years General Secretary, KP(b) of Estonia, fell victim to the April 1950 purges conducted personally by Ponomarenko. He was replaced by Käbin as General Secretary. D. Kuz'min, a Russian, became second secretary. G. T. Kedrov and A. A. Müürisepp were replaced by A. A. Kel'berg and A. N. Yanus. (29)

The Latvian purges have so far affected only state officials, with only minor changes observed to date among party officials. The Tenth Latvian Party Congress, convening toward the end of January 1949 in Riga (30), confirmed Ya. E. Kalnberzins as General Secretary. F. Ye. Titov, a Russian, was named second secretary. The remaining three secretaries included one Lett, A. J. Pelse, and two Russians, A. A. Nikonov and P. I. Litvinov. Nikonov has subsequently been replaced by P. P. Plesums, a Lett.

No changes have taken place in Lithuania since the Sixth (last) Party Congress, which convened in mid-February 1949 in Vil'nyus. (31) A Yu. Snechkus remained as General Secretary, while A. S. Trofimov and D. Ye. Shupikov (Russians) remained as second and fifth secretaries and E. Yu. Ozarskis and V. Yu. Nyunka (Lithuanians) as third and fourth secretaries.

In general, there are hardly any noticeable changes in the Caucasus union republics. There have been no changes among the Azerbaydzhan secretaries since the 17th Party Congress, which convened in late January 1949 in Baku. (32) Bagirov, the General Secretary, as well as the other secretaries -- Seidov, Mamedov, Gasanov, and Kafar-Zade -- remained in office. The same was true of Georgia, where no secretaries have been changed since the 16th Party Congress in late January 1949 in Tbilisi. (33) Charkviani remained General Secretary and Baramiya, Topuridze, Shaduri, and Tskhovrebashvili also stayed in office. In Armenia, Arutinov, the General Secretary, as well as the other secretaries -- Pogosov, Grigor'yan, Barigyan, and Kochinyan -- has remained in office since the 14th Party Congress in November 1948 in Yerevan. (33a)

In contrast to the other union republics, the Caucasus republics have no secretaries of distinctly Russian origin. In the Central Asian union republics, however, there are several Russian secretaries, who usually occupy the position of second secretary. One other secretary is also usually a Russian. The General Secretary of the KP(b) of Kirgizia is also Russian.

No changes have taken place in the Secretariat of the TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan since the Fourth Party Congress in February-March 1949 in Alma-Ata (34). The secretariat consists of Shayakhmetov as General Secretary, Karzhaubayev and Omarov as third and fourth secretaries, and two Russians, S. I. Kruglov (35) and S. I. Yakovlev, as second and fifth secretaries. The first secretaries of the oblast committees have changed frequently during this period.

More far-reaching changes occurred in the Secretariat of the TsK KP(b) of Uzbekistan. The Tenth Party Congress in early March 1949 in Tashkent (36) confirmed Yusupov as General Secretary, appointed N. A. Lomakin (37), a Russian, as second secretary, and V. A. Bylbas, M. G. Vakhabov, and Z. Nurutdinov as the remaining secretaries. The Tenth Party Congress was followed by a reorganization of the party administration, in the course of which and during the ensuing purges N. A. Lomakin, the second secretary, was replaced by R. Ye. Melnikov, also a Russian, and V. A. Bylbas was replaced by A. Mavlyanov as third secretary. In

- 7 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

April 1950, Yusupov, for many years General Secretary, was appointed head of the newly created Ministry of Cotton Growing USSR (38). He was replaced as General Secretary by A. I. Niyazov, until then chairman of the presidium, Supreme Soviet Uzbek SSR (39).

There have been no changes in the secretariats of the central committees of the remaining Central Asian republics -- Turkestan, Kirgizia, and Tadzhikistan -- since the last party congresses, but the secretaries of the local party organizations were changed constantly.

Batyrov, General Secretary of the KP(b) of Turkestan, and his fellow nationals, Aliyev and Ovezov, as well as the Russians Sennikov and Yegorov, have stayed on as secretaries. Sennikov is second, Yegorov third, Aliyev fourth, and Ovesov fifth secretary.

The Fifth Party Congress of Kirgizia, convening in early February 1949 in Frunze (40), confirmed the Russian Bogolyubov as General Secretary, and appointed Suyerkulov, Dikambayev, Yakovlev (Russian), and Orzaliyev as the remaining secretaries.

The Seventh Party Congress of Tadzhikistan, convening in late December 1948 in Stalinabad (41), left Gafurov in office as General Secretary and confirmed Shilkin, Khalikova, Kulkov, and Pulatov as secretaries. Shilkin, the second secretary, and Kulkov, the fourth secretary, are Russians.

The percentage of Russian party secretaries in autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts is far greater than the percentage serving as union-republic central committee secretaries. The first secretaries of the oblast committees of the Buryat-Mongol, Kabarda, Komi, Mari, Mordov, North Osetian, Udmurt, Chuvash, and Yakut ASSR, and the Jewish, Gorno-Altay, Khakas, and Cherkes Autonomous Oblasts are Russians. The same holds true for those oblasts which lost their political autonomy, such as Crimea, and those annexed areas which a priori were not granted this autonomy, such as Königsberg (Kaliningrad).

These facts again confirm the observation that the USSR is continuing to develop into a unified state governed by ethnic Russians and that the remaining federated units no longer have real political significance.

LIST OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIES AND FIRST SECRETARIES OF KRAY AND OBLAST COMMITTEES OF THE KP(b)

(Second secretaries of Kray and Oblast Committees are included only if they are deputies to the Supreme Soviet USSR.)

Secretaries of the TsK VKP(b)

I. V. Stalin
N. S. Khrushchev.
G. M. Malenkov
M. A. Suslov
P. K. Ponomarenko

- 8 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Secretaries of Kray and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) in the RSFSR

Kray

Altay	Igor Petrovich Skulkov, Nikolay Ilich Belyayev
Krasnodar	Nikolay Grigor'yevich Ignatov
Krasnoyarsk	Averkiy Borisovich Aristov
Primorskiy	Nikolay Nikolayevich Organtov
Stavropol'	Ivan Pavlovich Boytsov, Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Gritsenko
Khabarovsk	Aleksandr Pavlovich Yefimov

Oblast

Amur	Fedor Romanovich Vasil'yev
Arkhangel'sk	Ivan Sergeyevich Latunov
Astrakhan'	Fedor Nikolayevich Muratov
Bryansk	Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yegorov
Velikiye Luki	Grigoriy Mefodiyevich Boykachev
Vladimir	Pavel Nikitovich Alferov
Vologda	Vasiliy Nikitich Derbinov
Voronezh	Konstantin Pavlovich Zhukov
Gor'kiy	Dmitriy Grigor'yevich Smirnov
Groznyy	Ivan Kuz'mich Shegalin
Ivanovo	Vladimir Vasil'yevich Lukyanov
Irkutsk	Aleksey Ivanovich Khovortatukhin
Kaliningrad	Vladimir Vasil'yevich Shcherbakov
Kalinin	Nikolay Semenovich Kononov
Kaluga	Boris Ivanovich Panov
Kemerovo	Yevgeniy Fedorovich Kolyshv
Kirov	Ivan Timofeyevich Bykov
Kostroma	Ivan Stepanovich Kuznetsov
Crimea	Pavel Ivanovich Titov
Kuybyshev	Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Puzanov
Kurgan	V. Tishchenko
Kursk	Vasiliy Mikhaylovich Andrianov [sic; should be listed after Leningrad]
Leningrad	Filip Mikhaylovich Pras
Molotov	Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev [sic; should be listed after Moscow]
Moscow	Kutyrev [sic; see following]
Murmanak	Aleksey Mikhaylovich Kutyrev
Novgorod	Mikhail Nikolayevich Tupitsyn
Novosibirsk	Ivan Dmitriyevich Yakovlev
Omsk	Nikolay Vasil'yevich Kiselev
Orel	Leonid Ivanovich Krylov
Penza	Ivan Kononovich Lebedev
Pskov	Gennadiy Nikolayevich Shubin
Rostov-on-Don	Nikolay Semanovich Patolichev
Ryazan'	Aleksey Nikolayevich Larionov
Saratov	Gennadiy Andreyevich Borkov
Sakhalin	Dmitriy Nikanorovich Melnik
Sverdlovsk	Viktor Ivanovich Nedosekin
Smolensk	Vladimir Pavlovich Frontas'yev
Stalingrad	Ivan Timofeyevich Grishin
Tambov	Ivan Alekseyevich Volkov
Tomsk	Aleksey Vladimirovich Semin
Tula	Ivan Andreyevich Shalkov
Tyumen'	Ivan Il'ich Afonov
Ul'yanskovsk	Aleksandr Pankrat'yevich Bochkarev
Chelyabinsk	A. Beloborodov (Name did not appear in elections to Supreme Soviet USSR; it is not known whether he is still party secretary in 1950.)

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50X1-HUM

Oblast

Chita	Gennadiy Ivanovich Voronov
Chkalov	Pavel Nikolayevich Korchagin
Yaroslav	Georgiy Semenovich Sitnikov

Secretaries of Oblast Committees of the KP(b) in the Autonomous Republics of the RSFSR:

Tatar ASSR	Sinnat Ibetovich Muratov
Bashkir ASSR	Sabir Akhmetysyanovich Bagapov
Dagestan ASSR	Abdurakhman Daniyalovich Daniyalov, Abduk Gamid Nukhayevich Batymarzayev
Buryat-Mongol ASSR	Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Kudryavtsev, Budazhan Lobzanovich Lobzanov
Kabarda ASSR	Vasiliy Ivanovich Babich, Timbor Kubatiyevich Malbakhov
Komi ASSR	Georgiy Ivanovich Osipov
Mariy ASSR	Grigoriy Ivanovich Kondrat'yev, Olga Vasil'yevna Romanova
Mordov ASSR	Ivan Alekseyevich Piksin
North Osetian ASSR	Kubadi Dmitriyevich Kulov, Vasiliy Nesterovich Churkin
Udmurt ASSR	Petr Nikolayevich Lysov
Chuvash ASSR	Yakov Kuz'mich Pavlov, Timofey Arkad'yevich Akhazov
Yakut ASSR	Ilya Yegorovich Vinokurov, Matrena Vladimirovna Belchusova

Secretaries of Oblast Committees of the KP(b) in the Autonomous Oblasts of the RSFSR:

Adygey	Khalid Batkeriyevich Kade
Jewish	Pavel Vasil'yevich Simonov
Gorno-Altay	Ivan Yakovlevich Kolonin
Tuva	Zalchak Kolbakhorekovich Toka
Khakas	Nemechikov [sic; given names omitted]
Cherkes	Taras Nikolayevich [sic; last name omitted]

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of the Ukraine

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of the Ukraine:

Leonid Georgiyevich Melnikov	Ivan Dmitriyevich Nazarenko
Aleksey Ilarionovich Kirichenko	Stepan Nikonovich Tarasov
Zinovey Timofeyevich Serdyuk	

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of the Ukraine:

Vinnitsa	Mikhail Mikhaylovich Stakhurskiy
Volyn'	Ilya Ivanovich Profatillov
Voroshilovgrad	Anton Ivanovich Gayevoy
Dnepropetrovsk	Leonid Il'ich Brezhev
Drogobych	Stepan Antonovich Oleksenko
Zhitomir	Sergey Filipovich Kostyuchenko
Transcarpathian	Ivan Danilovich Kompanets, Ivan Mikhaylovich Vash
Zapozh'ya	Georgiy Vasil'yevich Entyutin
Izmail	Aleksey Andreyevich Fedorov
Kiev	Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Begma
Kirovograd	Aleksey Andrianovich Gryza
L'vov	Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Pozanenko
Kamenets-Podol'sk	Ivan Samoylovich Grushetskiy
Nikolayev	Andrey Pavlovich Kirilenko
Odessa	Aleksey Alekseyevich Yelishev

- 10 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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50X1-HUM

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of the Ukraine (Contd):

Poltava	Vasiliy Sergeyevich Markov
Rovno	Vasiliy Danilovich Chuchukalo
Stalino	Aleksandr Ivanovich Stuyev, Vasiliy Konstantinovich Klimenko
Stanislav	Mikhail Varnayevich Slon
Sumy	Andrey Pavlovich Kondratenko
Tarnopol'	Vladimir Nikolayevich Drushinin
Khar'kov	Viktor Mikhaylovich Chursayev
Kherson	Grigoriy Yeliseyevich Grishko
Chernigov	Mikhail Georgiyevich Roginets
Chernovtsy	Dmitriy Gaply

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of BelorussiaSecretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Belorussia:

Nikolay Ivanovich Gusarov
 Vasiliy Ivanovich Zakurdayev
 Mikhail Vasil'yevich Zimyanin
 Mikhail Trifonovich Iovchuk

V. A. Tomashevich

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Belorussia:

Baranovichi	Baranov
Bobruysk	Fedor Pakhomovich Silyayev
Brest	Vladimir Georgiyevich Kudrayev
Vitebsk	Nikolay Yefremovich Avkhimovich
Gomel'	Sergey Osipovich Pritytskiy
Grodno	Vasiliy Yefimovich Chernyshev
Minsk	Aleksandra Ignat'yevna Stepanova
Mogilev	Klimov
Molodechno	Tetyushev
Pinsk	Vladimir Yeliseyevich Lobanok
Poles'ye	Gonenko
Polotsk	

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of the Karelo-Finnish SSR

Aleksandr Andreyevich Kondakov
 Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov
 I. I. Tsvetkov
 T. F. Vakul'kin
 N. A. Chernetsov

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Estonia

Ivan Gustovich Kebin (Käbin)
 D. M. Kuz'min
 A. A. Kel'berg
 V. I. Kuuzik
 A. N. Yanus

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Latvia

Yan Eduardovich Kalnberzins
 Fedor Yegorovich Titov
 Arvid Yanovich Pel'she (A. J. Pelse)

- 11 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Latvia (Contd)

Peter Petrovich Plesums
P. I. Litvinov

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Lithuania

Anastas Yusovich Snehkus
Aleksandr Stepanovich Trofimov
Eduard Yusovich Ozarskis
Vladas Yusovich Nyunka
Daniil Yefimovich Shupikov

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Moldavia

Nikolay Grigor'yevich Koval'
Dmitriy Grigor'yevich Tkach
Filip Ivanovich Kashnikov
M. M. Radul
I. F. Tereshchenko

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of AzerbaydzhanSecretaries of TsK KP(b) of Azerbaydzhan:

Mir Dzhafer Abbasovich Bagirov
Gasani Ali Seidov
Gasaufar Dzhafer Mamedov
Gasani Mamed Gasanov
Sultan Azadulla Kafar-Zade

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Azerbaydzhan:

Nakhichevan ASSR	Iosif Naftali Yusupov
Nagorno-Karabakh ASSR	Sedrak Karapetovich Abramov

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of GeorgiaSecretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Georgia:

Kandida Nesterovich Charkviani
Mikhail Ivanovich Baramiya
Aleksandr Epifanovich Topuridze
Rostom Semenovitch Shaduri
Vladimir Gedevanovich Tskhovrebashvili

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Georgia:

Abkhaz ASSR	Akakiy Ivanovich Mgeladze
Adzhar ASSR	Kirill Georgiyevich Bechvaya
South Osetian Autonomous Oblast	Akakiy Gabriyelovich Imnadze

- 12 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
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50X1-HUM

Secretaries of the Central Committee of the KP(b) of Armenia

Grigoriy Artem'yevich Arutinov
Arutyan Vasorovich Pogosov
Barigyan
Akop Sirakanovich Grigor'yan
Kochinyan

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Kazakhstan

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan:

Shumabay Shayakhmetov
Sergey Ivanovich Kruglov
Gabdulla Karzhaubayev
Ilyas Omarovich Omarov
S. I. Yakovlev

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Kazakhstan:

Akmolinsk	Klubaiy Taybekov
Aktyubinsk	Berdygulov
Alma-Ata	Ivan Yegorovich Shmel'kov
Vostochno-Kazakhstan	Gabir Mukharamovich Pazikov
Gur'yev	Galiyev
Dzhambul	Edilbayev
Zapadno-Kazakhstan	Minaidar Salimovich Salin
Karaganda	Ababkov
Kzyl-Orda	--
Kokchetav	--
Kustanay	Galgabay Shanbayev
Pavlodar	--
Severo-Kazakhstan	--
Semipalatinsk	--
Taldy-Kurgan	A. Kondratenko
Yuzhno-Kazakhstan	Mukhameshdan Nogayevich Yerlipesov

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Uzbekistan

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Uzbekistan:

Amin Irmatovich Niyazov
Roman Yefimovich Melnikov
Abdurazak Mavlyanov
Mavlyan Gafarovich Vakhabov
Ziroduzha Nurutdinov

Secretaries of the Central [sic; should be Oblast] Committees of the KP(b) of Uzbekistan:

Andizhan	Mansur Mirza-Akhmedov
Bukhara	Mangutov
Kashka-Dar'ya	B. Nasyrov
Namangan	Nuritdin Akramovich Mukhitdinov
Samar'kand	Arif Alimov
Surkhan-Dar'ya	Dzhurabayev
Tashkent	Toktobayev
Fergana	Sabir Kamalov
Khorezm	Iskandarov

- 13 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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50X1-HUM

Secretary of the Kara-Kalpak ASSR Oblast Committee of the KP(b) of Uzbekistan:

Tursin Kambarov [Kambarov ?]

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Turkestan

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Turkestan:

Shadzha Batyrovich Batyrov
Arkadiy Andreyevich Sennikov
Mikhail Ivanovich Yegorov
Kara Yezenovich Aliyev
Bylysha Ovezov

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Turkestan:

Ashkhabad	Zeydnazar Myatiyev
Mary	E. Araliyev
Tashauz	Mamed Gunibekov
Chardzhou	Permanov

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Kirgizia

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Kirgizia:

Nikolay Semenovich Bogolyubov
Abdy Suyerkulov
Kazy Dikambayevich Dikambayev
Yakovlev
Orozaliyev

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Kirgizia:

Dzhalal-Abad	Kydyraly Dzhaniyev
Issyk-Kul	Shadykan Imanaliyev
Osh	N. Narozhnyy
Talass	Dossu Shabayev
Tyan'-Shan'	Dzhamankul T. Zombayev
Frunze	Bolot Mambetovich Mambetov

Secretaries of the Central Committee and Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Tadzhikistan

Secretaries of the TsK KP(b) of Tadzhikistan:

Bobodzhan Gafurovich Gafurov
Mikhail Sergeyevich Shilkin
Saida Khalikova
Kulkov
T. P. Pulatov

Secretaries of the Oblast Committees of the KP(b) of Tadzhikistan:

Garm	N. Kozlov
Kulyab	--
Leninabad	Petr Stepanovich Obnozov
Stalinabad	Kuznetsov
Gorno-Badakhshan	
Autonomous	
Oblast	Dzhifon Mul'kamanov

- 14 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTES

1. Speech before the 3 March 1937 plenum of the TsK VKP(b). See report by W. Markert in Osteuropa, Vol 12, 1936/37, p 525 ff. In this speech Stalin declared among other things that the party was invincible as long as it did not lose contact with the masses. He compared the party to Antaeus, whom Hercules could conquer only because he lifted him from the soil which gave him power.
2. Figures given by Malenkov at the Founding Conference of the Cominform in Warsaw in September 1947. Cf Neue Welt, Vol 2, No 23, Dec 1947, p 9 ff.
3. A. Zhdanov, "Changes in the Rules of the VKP(b)," report to the 18th Party Congress of the VKP(b) on 18 March 1939, Berlin, 1950, p 47.
4. Resolutions of the plenary sessions of the central committees of the Communist parties of Belorussia and the Ukraine, Izvestiya, 4 and 8 Mar 1947.
5. Before his appointment as secretary, TsK KP(b) -- (since 1925 VKP(b)) -- Molotov was secretary, TsK KP(b) of the Ukraine; he headed the Moscow party organization from 1928 to 1930.
6. Kaganovich was general secretary of the KP(b) of the Ukraine from 1925 to 1928, an office which he temporarily resumed in 1947; he succeeded Molotov as head of the Moscow party organization from 1930 to 1935.
7. Zhdanov was first secretary, Nizhniy Novgorod (now Gor'kiy) Oblast Committee from 1922 to 1935; in 1934 he succeeded the assassinated Kirov as head of the Leningrad party organization.
8. Shcherbakov succeeded Zhdanov as first secretary, Gor'kiy Oblast Committee, 1934 to 1938, and succeeded Khrushchev as head of the Moscow party organization from 1938 to 1945. During World War II he was a member of the Military Council of the Moscow Front and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army (PURKKA).
9. Aleksey Aleksandrovich Kuznetsov, at one time a Politburo candidate, and next to Popkov one of Zhdanov's closest associates, must not be confused with any of the following: Andrey Alekseyevich Kuznetsov, present chairman, Leningrad City Soviet; his brother, Aleksey Alekseyevich Kuznetsov, present chief, Main Administration of the Northern Sea Route, and Soviet Arctic Administration [sic]; Gen V. V. Kuznetsov, present chairman, [All-Union] Central Council of Trade Unions; Gen V. I. Kuznetsov, present chairman, Central Committee of DOSARM; Gen F. F. Kuznetsov, former chief, Main Intelligence Administration (GRU); and present chief, Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army; and Admiral N. G. Kuznetsov, former Peoples's Commissar and Commander in Chief of the Navy.
10. Popov succeeded Shcherbakov as head of the Moscow party organization from 1945 to 1949. He was at the same time a member of the Orgburo, and after his removal from office was made Minister of City Construction.
11. Voznesenskiy's political career began in 1935 when he headed the Leningrad Planning Commission under Zhdanov. He headed the State Planning Commission USSR from 1938 to 1949 except for a short time during the war. Since 1939 he has been a deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars USSR (later Deputy Minister President). In 1941 he became a candidate and in 1947 a member of the Politburo. He withdrew from all party and state offices in 1949. The possibility cannot be discounted that he had been charged with special assignments outside the Soviet Union (China?).
12. Cf Ostprobleme, Vol 2, p 366 ff, on Malenkov's personality.
13. Andreyev dealt primarily with agriculture during his many years as secretary. In 1940 he became head of the Economic Council for Agriculture and Procurement and in 1946 he was made head of the Council for Kolkhoz Affairs.

- 15 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

14. Zhdanov himself appointed Aleksandrov head of the propaganda and Agitation Administration and made him a member of the Orgburo. During the war he was a prominent speaker for the Soviet intellectuals.

15. Cf the text of the resolution in Ostprobleme, Vol 1, No 13, p 390 f.

16. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 23 - 25 Dec 1948.

17. After the great purges Andrianov distinguished himself as reorganizer of the party organizations in the Ural economic area. He played a leading role in the Administration for Personnel Affairs and in the Organization and Instruction (now Supervision of Party Organs) Section of the Central Committee. He was also active as chairman, Foreign Affairs Commission, Soviet of the Union (first chamber of the Supreme Soviet) during the Second Convocation.

18. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 1 - 8 Feb 1949.

19. Parfenov was considered a close associate of Zhdanov. In February 1947 he succeeded him as chairman, Soviet of the Union. As second secretary of the Moscow City Committee, Parfenov was succeeded by Furtseva, and as chairman, Soviet of the Union, by Yasnov.

20. As second secretary Patolichev, like Kaganovich, was simultaneously member of the Orgburo and Politburo of the KP(b) of the Ukraine.

21. Cf Izvestiya, 4 Mar 1947. Korotchenko is a member of the Politburo, TsK KP(b) of the Ukraine.

22. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 26 - 30 Jan 1949.

23. Izvestiya, 8 Mar 1947.

24. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 16 - 25 Feb 1949.

25. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 7 - 11 Feb 1949.

26. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 27 - 29 Apr 1950.

27. Newsletter From Behind the Iron Curtain, Vol 4, No 172, 1950, p 108 ff.

28. Cf conference report, in Pravda, 28 Dec 1948.

29. Newsletter From Behind the Iron Curtain, Vol 4, No 170, 1950, p 95 ff; No 171, p 101 ff; No 172, p 107 ff; and Neue Zurcher Zeitung, 21 May 1950.

30. Cf conference report in Pravda, 28 Jan 1949

31. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 16 - 27 Feb 1949.

32. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 27 - 30 Jan 1949.

33. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 27 - 30 Jan 1949

33a. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 15 - 19 Nov 1948

34. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 25 Feb - 2 Mar 1949

35. Sergey Ivanovich Kruglov, second secretary, TsK KP(b) of Kazakhstan, should not be confused with General Sergey Nikiforovich Kruglov, Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD) USSR.

- 16 -

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

50X1-HUM

36. Cf conference reports in Pravda, 2 - 6 Mar 1949
37. Lomakin, second secretary, KP(b) of Uzbekistan, is not the Lomakin who was Soviet Consul-General in New York, and who became known through the Kasenkina case.
38. Izvestiya, 6 Apr 1950.
39. Cf report of plenum of TsK KP(b) of Uzbekistan, in Pravda, 23 Apr 1950.
40. Cf conference report in Pravda, 12 Feb 1949.
41. Cf conference report in Pravda, 21 Dec 1948.

- E N D -

- 17 -

CONFIDENTIAL

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